

Communism

and the

NAACP

Preface

The information contained in this publication was presented under oath by Doctor J. B. Matthews at a public hearing of the Florida Legislation Investigation Committee, on Monday, February 10, 1958 at the State Capitol, in Tallahassee, Florida.

The Florida Legislation Investigation Committee is a legislative investigating committee authorized under the Florida law to compel the attendance of witnesses and their testimony under oath.

Introduction

In the pages which follow, certain propositions will emerge from the evidence submitted. For the most part, original Communist sources have been cited in order to let the Communists speak for themselves. It should be clear that—

1) The Communists are at work, with their customary fanatical dedication, in stirring up trouble in the field of public school integration in the South;

2) The Communists have been at work for some thirty years in the field of agitation among Negroes;

3) The Communists have organized and promoted a succession of united fronts and fronts designed especially for winning Negroes to Communism;

4) The tactics of Communist agitation among Negroes are greatly altered from time to time, but the basic objective of violent revolution remains unchanged;

5) Whatever the line of the Communist Party on the Negro question may be at a given moment, it is based upon the so-called Marxist-Leninist analysis and is dictated by Moscow in the special interests of the Soviet Union;

6) There is a vast Communist literature on the subject of Communism and the American Negro;

7) One of the announced goals of the Communist program is the confiscation without compensation of the property of the white capitalists and landowners in the South;

8) The Communists favor racial amalgamation and assert that a Communist revolution would speed up the process;

9) The Communists have established friendly contacts with the Negro leaders of most of the recent integration incidents in the South;

10) The Communists rely chiefly upon the support which they are able to command from misguided Southern liberals;

11) This is an era in Communist strategy when the Party has reverted to the united front policy which prevailed immediately prior to and during World War II;

12) Communist leaders have asserted that "Negro liberation" is their Number One issue on the domestic front.

Communists, Negroes, and Integration

The Communist Party has long been expert at the business of fishing in troubled waters—the more troubled, the more to its liking.

The Communist Party is at it again today; and, unfortunately, the "Keep Off" signs have been taken down by order of the U. S. Supreme Court, in its decisions of June 17, 1957, affecting the Communist conspiracy.

If any issue in our society today may be properly characterized as troubled waters, it is unquestionably the issue raised by the Supreme Court's desegregation order of May 17, 1954. And there is no hazard in predicting that these waters will be troubled for a long time to come.

The situation is one which the Communists have welcomed eagerly. It offers them an almost unparalleled opportunity to exploit, for their own ulterior and revolutionary purposes, the inevitable social turbulence resulting from the Supreme Court's order for public school integration. Violent agitation is the meat on which Communism feeds.

The Bait: Negro Liberation

The bait on the Communist hook is "Negro liberation," a phrase which has been reiterated by Communist leaders with such frequency over the years that it has become a cliche. It matters not that liberation at the hands of Communists is demonstrably a cruel euphemism for a slavery worse than that from which Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation freed the Negroes. The Communists still approach the Negro people of the United States with the promise of liberation dangling from their hook.

As long ago as 1928, the Communist Party of the United States published a pamphlet written by John Pepper, the representative of the Communist International in the United States, in which Pepper said: "*The Communists must participate in all national liberation movements of the Negroes which have a real mass character.*" (American Negro Problems, p. 14; emphasis in original)

In a Communist pamphlet entitled "The Road to Negro Liberation," published in 1934, Harry Haywood writes about "Party leadership in the Negro liberation movement." (p. 62)

In 1937, the Communist Party issued a pamphlet entitled "The Road to Liberation for the Negro People," by Abner W. Berry and others.

Ten years later, in 1947, Negro Communist leader Benjamin J. Davis published his pamphlet entitled "The Path of Negro Liberation," in which he wrote:

Consequently the Negro people are moving in

Belt. This would mean an adjustment or rectification of the lines demarcating 12 states through which runs the Black Belt area where the Negro people are in a majority. (p. 19, 20)

In 1948, Negro Communist leader Harry Haywood published a book entitled *Negro Liberation*.

That "Negro liberation" has priority on the Communist Party's agenda today is confirmed by the foremost Negro Communist leader in the United States. Writing in *Political Affairs*, the theoretical magazine of the Communist Party, U.S.A., which lays down the Party line, Benjamin J. Davis declares:

The struggle for Negro rights—particularly in the deep South—is the single most crucial and decisive issue in the United States today . . . The massive significance of the national liberation struggles of the Negro and colonial people, here and abroad, envelops this work with additional importance. (p. 13)

Negro Republic in the Black Belt

The Communist slogan of "Negro Liberation" is simply a watered-down version of the Party's original slogan of "A Negro Republic in the Black Belt." The propaganda which the Communist Party conducted on the basis of the latter slogan fell flat in its appeal to Negroes and only served to show how far the Kremlin's agents are removed from the realities of the American scene.

In October, 1930, the Communist International adopted a resolution "on the Negro Question in the United States." It was published in the United States by Workers Library Publishers, the publishing adjunct of the Communist Party, in a pamphlet entitled *The Communist Position on the Negro Question*.

On the subject of an independent Negro republic in the Black Belt, the Comintern took the position that "as long as capitalism rules in the United States the Communists cannot come out against governmental separation of the Negro zone from the United States." (p. 51) But, in the event of the establishment of a Soviet government in the whole United States, Communist Negroes would come out against "separation of the Negro Republic from federation with the United States," while unconditionally giving "the Negro population of the Black Belt freedom of choice even on this question." (p. 50-51)

The Comintern's resolution held that there was a "prospective sharpening of the national conflicts in the South, with the advance of the national revolutionary Negro movement," and that in such a situation the Communist Party must "stand up with all strength and courage for the struggle to win independence and for the establishment of a Negro republic in the Black Belt." (p. 51-52)

William Z. Foster points out that the *Program of the Communist International* declares for:

The recognition of the right of all nations, irrespective of race, to complete self-determination, that is, self-determination inclusive of the right to State separation. (*Toward Soviet America*, p. 304)

Foster then applies this principle of self-determination and State separation (or secession from the United States) to the Negro population in the Black Belt, in the following statement:

Accordingly, the right of self-determination will apply to Negroes in the American Soviet system. In the so-called Black Belt of the South, where the Negroes are in the majority, they will have the fullest right to govern themselves and also such white minorities as may live in the section. (*ibid*, p. 304)

Confiscation

The program of the Communist Party calls for the confiscation of the property of the white people in the so-called Black Belt. According to William Z. Foster, writing in his book entitled *Toward Soviet America*:

In a Soviet system, the Negro will have the most complete equality—economically, politically, socially . . . He will have ample land, confiscated from the great white landlords . . . Socialism will mean the first real freedom for the Negro. He is beginning to realize this, hence his mass turning to the Communist party for leadership, and the consequent deep alarm of the capitalists and big landowners at this growing unity of white and black toilers. (p 303)

There is no doubt about the Communist program of confiscation. But, after 40 years of Communist agitation, there is no evidence of the "mass turning" of Negroes to the Communist Party—a fact which William Z. Foster knows very well now, and which he knew very well when he wrote about it.

Communist Aim: Racial Amalgamation

In their franker moments, Communist leaders in the United States have stated bluntly that one of their aims is to bring about racial amalgamation. Thus, William Z. Foster, present head of the Communist Party in America, declared in his book entitled *Toward Soviet America*:

The American Soviet will, of course, abolish all restrictions upon racial intermarriage . . . The revolution will only hasten this process of integration, already proceeding throughout the world with increasing tempo. (p. 305-306)

Kremlin's Guidance and Control

William Z. Foster is frank in asserting that Lenin has been the source of the Communist Party's line on

agitation among Negroes. In his book, *The Negro People in American History*, published in 1954, Foster writes:

The American Communist Party got its eventual scientific understanding of the Negro question in the United States from the writings and personal counsel of Lenin. This was one of the many basic services to the American labor movement rendered by the Communist International, but it was not to be realized until 1929. (p. 454)

It has already been shown that the representative of the Communist International, John Pepper, dictated the line of the American Communists on the so-called Negro question.

On Penetrating Non-Communist Organizations

In addition to building their own Party-controlled organizations, the Communist Party has from the beginning pursued a policy of sending its members into non-Communist organizations. Their own word for this type of activity is "penetration." The Communist objectives in penetrating other groups are varied. In some instances, the goal of penetration is outright control. In other instances, the objective is to disseminate and gain support for the views of the Party apparatus outside the immediate circle of Communists or, in other words, to win fellow travelers on specific issues. In yet other and rarer cases, the aim of penetration is to destroy the organization which is penetrated.

At times, the Communist Party directives have frankly set forth the tactics of penetration, without the slightest attempt at secrecy and subtlety. Thus, a report to the Plenum of the Communist Party in 1935 records some successes in penetration. Excerpts from this report were published in the *Party Organizer* of March, 1935, under the title of "How to Penetrate the Negro Organizations." The first excerpt gives an illuminating example of the tactics of Communist penetration. It reads as follows:

We have some excellent experiences in New York. In Queens we have been able, just on one issue, and maybe this is the secret of it, to get together over 60 various organizations of the Negro people on the question of discrimination in the hospital in Queens. We have the Alpha Benevolent Association, the American League Against War and Fascism, the Amity Baptist Church, Arrawat Democratic Club, Bayside City League, N.A.A.C.P., etc., about 70 organizations that have come together and conducted a struggle in Queens for the right of Negroes in the hospitals in the City of New York. (p. 20)

The tactic of concentrating on "one issue" in order to penetrate non-Communist Negro organizations was further illustrated in the second excerpt of the report

to the Plenum of the Communist Party. In this instance, the "one issue" was a forthcoming conference on unemployment in Washington, D. C., a conference engineered and controlled by the Communist Party. With respect to this example of successful penetration of non-Communist Negro organizations, the Plenum report said:

These experiences have shown us that it was possible to get this united front by simply taking up one section, one issue, one grievance of the Negro people and developing a struggle around it. In this case we can see that if we properly approach these organizations there is a possibility of getting into the Negro organizations for a united front. We have had in Harlem in the preparations for the unemployed conference at Washington, a conference of 29 organizations, different organizations than we have had heretofore, into a conference at Abyssinia Baptist Church, the N.A.A.C.P., church organizations, etc. Comrade [Herbert] Benjamin spoke there, and we elected delegates to the congress at Washington. We had also the followers of Father Divine, the Negro "God." (p. 20)

(Again and again, the Communist Party has successfully penetrated the Abyssinian Baptist Church, of which Representative Adam Clayton Powell was and is the pastor.)

Still another example of the use of the tactic of "one issue" was the united front which the Communist Party organized around the Italian war against Ethiopia. In an article entitled "The United Front on Ethiopia," published in the *Party Organizer* of July, 1935, James W. Ford wrote as follows:

This time we organized a broad united front on the issue of the struggle for the defense of the Ethiopian people, which ultimately involved at least 60 Negro organizations. (p. 16)

In this campaign of penetration, the Communist Party again had the use of Congressman Powell's Abyssinian Baptist Church.

Wrote James W. Ford in the *Party Organizer*:

The first action was on May 7 (1935) in Harlem at the Abyssinian Church. There were 3,000 Negroes present, most of whom were not Communists. There the Communists spoke from the same platform as these other people. (p. 17)

In the work of penetrating non-Communist organizations, the Communists went prepared for any eventuality. According to Ford, the Communist Party on one occasion sent a number of the followers of Marcus Garvey, whose organization the Party had penetrated, to a meeting of the Party's Italian Workers' Center "where our comrades discussed the Abyssinian ques-

tion." Ford added that these Negro Garveyites "were so afraid of their reception (at the Italian Communist center) that they went there armed with knives." (p. 17) The precautionary arming was, of course, wholly unnecessary; they were received most hospitably. From this particular affair, Ford drew the following conclusion:

It is along these lines that we must work among the Negroes, patiently overcoming their suspicions and hesitations.

This experience in Harlem opens up a perspective of wider actions not only in Harlem, but throughout the country. Committees on Ethiopia should be set up on a nation-wide scale. (p. 17)

If ever two movements possessed antithetical ideologies, they were the Communist Party and Father Divine's group. Notwithstanding this sharp clash of basic views, the Communist Party successfully penetrated the ranks of Father Divine's movement. On this subject, James W. Ford made the following comment:

Another question that is bothering a number of comrades in New York is the Father Divine movement in connection with the united front . . . the comrades in Harlem have taken very seriously the question which was raised at the last plenum—of going into the church organizations, making friends with these people. Through our united front with Father Divine we have been able to effect the penetration of a mass organization of the Negro people. A very important fact to remember in connection with the Father Divine movement is the fact that the followers of Father Divine are workers, toiling people; that is why we are attempting to penetrate into this movement.

The united front with the Father Divine movement has been made on the basis of certain concrete issues. (p. 17, 18)

For more than 20 years, the Communist Party has pursued this tactic of penetration of non-Communist organizations and groups. With the current dwindling of its membership, the Party is pursuing the tactic more assiduously than ever. Recently, it has applied the tactic on a broad scale among scientists on the issue of radioactive fall-out. It hopes to reap vast gains on the issue of integration in the public schools of the South. Communists measure their gains in terms of social turbulence. Wherever they are permitted, they will penetrate non-Communist groups which favor federal intervention by force in the field of integration, hoping thereby to increase turmoil and incite to violence. The indispensable pre-conditions of Communist revolutionary sentiment are chaos and violence.

The Communist Party cared little or nothing about racial discrimination in the Queens hospital, about the fate of the Scottsboro boys or Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, about the Italian war against Ethiopia, or about the unemployed; it cares much about fishing in troubled waters. Only so can it serve its Kremlin master.

Negro College Presidents

The Communist-front apparatus has gained support, in one degree or another, among 60 percent of Negro college and university presidents. The following heads of Negro institutions of higher learning were affiliated with the National Negro Congress:

Rufus B. Atwood, Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Ky.

John M. Ellison, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.

David D. Jones, Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.

R. O'Hara Lanier, Texas Southern University, Houston, Texas.

Frederick D. Patterson, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.

Jacob L. Reddix, Jackson State College, Jackson, Miss.

The following were affiliated with the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare:

Rufus B. Atwood, Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Ky.

William H. Bell, Alcorn A. & M. College, Alcorn, Miss.

Horace Mann Bond, Lincoln University, Pa.

Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

Albert W. Dent, Dillard University, New Orleans, La.

Edgar H. Goold, St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, N. C.

Arthur Howe, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.

Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

Mordecai Johnson, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

David D. Jones, Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.

R. E. Lee, Florida A. & M. University, Tallahassee, Fla.

Benjamin E. Mays, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

Frederick D. Patterson, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.

E. C. Peters, Paine College, Augusta, Ga.

James E. Shepard, North Carolina College, Durham, N. C.

C. Trenholm, Alabama State College for Negroes, Montgomery, Ala.

John Brown Watson, Arkansas State A. & M. and Normal College, Pine Bluff, Ark.

F. Whittaker, South Carolina State College, Orangeburg, S. C.

The following have been affiliated with the currently functioning Southern Conference Educational Fund:

Rufus B. Atwood, Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Ky.

William Augustus Bell, Miles College, Birmingham, Ala.

Miller W. Boyd, Morristown College, Morristown, Tenn.

James P. Brawley, Clark College, Atlanta, Ga.

Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

Tandy W. Coggs, Arkansas Baptist College, Little Rock, Ark.

James A. Colston, Knoxville College, Knoxville, Tenn.

John W. Davis, West Virginia State College, Institute, W. Va.

Albert W. Dent, Dillard University, New Orleans, La.

John M. Ellison, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.

M. LaFayette Harris, Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Ark.

Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

Mordecai W. Johnson, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Benjamin E. Mays, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

Richard I. McKinney, Storer College, Harper's Ferry, W. Va.

Frederick D. Patterson, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.

E. C. Peters, Paine College, Augusta, Ga.

Hollis F. Price, LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tenn.

O. R. Reuben, Morris College School of Religion, Sumter, S. C.

Joseph J. Rhoads, Bishop College, Marshall, Texas.

William R. Strassner, Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.

There is no implication in the foregoing listings that any of these heads of Negro institutions are Communists. They represent, however, a high degree of Communist penetration into the ranks of the administrators of Negro education.

Forty-five different heads of Negro institutions of higher learning have had a total of 291 separate affiliations with the Communist-front apparatus. It is apparent that the Communists have established a sizeable beachhead in Negro education.

Many of these affiliations mean that Communists or pro-Communists have made personal contact with the top administrators of Negro education. That is one of the aims of the Communist-front technique. And, of course, the Communists acquire a certain amount of prestige for their projects.

If the so-called Negro masses were as susceptible to Communist-front propaganda as the so-called Negro intellectuals, the situation would be alarming. In his condensation of Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*, Arnold Rose makes the following observation:

Still the Communists have not succeeded in getting any appreciable following among Negroes in America, especially among the masses. During the depression and again since the war, a number of

leaders and intellectuals have become Communists or "fellow travelers." . . . To begin with, poor, un-educated, and socially disadvantaged groups have never been particularly susceptible to radical propaganda. It is usually the intellectuals and higher strata of the working class that have been reached first. (*The Negro in America*, p. 166)

National Council of Churches Penetrated

Remembering James W. Ford's statement about the Communist Party's policy "of going into the church organizations," some statistical data with respect to this question are enlightening.

The Communist Party has been strikingly successful in its efforts at infiltrating the Federal and the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. during the past 20-odd years.

In view of the fact that the philosophical bases of Communism and Christianity are as antithetical as two philosophies could possibly be, the success of the Communists in penetrating the ranks of the Protestant clergy is hard for some to understand. Nevertheless, the cold statistical facts are a matter of public record. It is not necessary to rely upon anybody's opinions.

The National Council of Churches was officially constituted on November 29, 1950, in Cleveland, Ohio. It was, in fact, nothing more than a reorganization of the Federal Council of Churches.

In the formal constituting of the National Council of Churches in Cleveland, one representative from each of the participating communions signed the official book which became the Document of Record. Eleven of these 29 signers of the official book have public records of affiliation with pro-Communist enterprises. Their names and respective denominations are as follows:

Bishop S. L. Greene—*African Methodist Episcopal*
Bishop W. J. Walls—*African Methodist Episcopal Zion*

Dr. E. H. Pruden—*American Baptist Convention*

Dr. Desmond W. Bittinger—*Church of the Brethren*

Bishop Bertram W. Doyle—*Colored Methodist Episcopal*

Dr. Vere V. Loper—*Congregational Christian*

Rev. Josef A. Barton—*Czech Moravian*

Bishop J. Ralph Magee—*Methodist*

Dr. W. H. Jernagin—*National Baptist Convention USA, Inc.*

Rt. Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill—*Protestant Episcopal*

Dr. Henry A. Vruwink—*Reformed Church in America*

It will be noted that 4 of the 11 signers of the Document of Record—Greene, Walls, Doyle, and Jernagin—were representatives of all-Negro denominations. This is a disproportionately large number of Negro clergymen. Whatever the reasons may be, it is a fact that Negro professional groups have been more

susceptible to Communist penetration than their white counter-parts.

There were 358 clergymen who were voting delegates to the constituting convention of the National Council of Churches in Cleveland. Of these clergymen, 123 (or 34 percent) have had affiliations with Communist projects and enterprises. That represents a high degree of penetration.

These 123 voting delegates were divided as follows: 84 white and 39 Negroes. The total number of their public pro-Communist affiliations is 659, of which 359 are affiliations of the white clergymen and 300 are affiliations of the Negro clergymen. Again, these figures indicate a disproportionately large number of Negro clergymen with Communist affiliations, and a higher degree of susceptibility to the appeals of Communist causes. The average number of affiliations for the Negro delegates is 7.7, while that of the whites is 4.2.

The greater Communist penetration of the higher ranks of Negro church dignitaries is evidenced by the fact that 57 percent of the total number of currently active Negro bishops of four Protestant denominations have records of affiliation with Communist-front organizations and enterprises. The following Negro bishops fall into this category:

African Methodist Episcopal Church—

George W. Barber, Philadelphia, Pa.

Frank Madison Reid, Kittrell, N. C.

Joseph Gomez, Cleveland, O.

Frederick D. Jordan, Hollywood, Calif.

R. R. Wright, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.

Carey A. Gibbs, Birmingham, Ala.

D. Ward Nichols, Jacksonville, Fla.

Sherman L. Greene, Atlanta, Ga.

African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church—

William Jacob Walls, Chicago, Ill.

Raymond Luther Jones, Salisbury, N. C.

Hampton Thomas Medford, Washington, D. C.

Herbert Bell Shaw, Wilmington, N. C.

Stephen Gill Spottswood, Washington, D. C.

Charles Ewbank Tucker, Louisville, Ky.

Charles Cecil Coleman, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Christian Methodist Episcopal Church—

J. A. Hamlett, Kansas City, Kan.

W. Y. Bell, South Boston, Va.

F. L. Lewis, Shreveport, La.

Bertram W. Doyle, Nashville, Tenn.

A. W. Womack, Indianapolis, Ind.

B. Julian Smith, Chicago, Ill.

Methodist Church—

J. W. E. Bowen, Atlanta, Ga.

Matthew W. Clair, Jr., St. Louis, Mo.

Edgar A. Lowe, Baltimore, Md.

Night of the above-named, currently active, Negro bishops are officially connected with the Southern Conference Educational Fund. They are Bishop S. L. Greene, Bishop F. L. Lewis, Bishop Edgar A. Love, Bishop Herbert Bell Shaw, Bishop Stephen Gill Spotswood, Bishop Charles Ewbank Tucker, Bishop Charles Cecil Coleman, and Bishop Frank Madison Reid.

The aim of the Communist penetration of non-Communist organizations is not necessarily to recruit members of the Party, but rather to create a favorable climate of opinion for certain limited objectives of the Communist program. In this way, the stain of Communism is removed from these objectives, and thus they appear to be the objectives of men of goodwill.

Highlander Folk School Seminar

Over the Labor Day weekend (August 30-September 2, 1957), Highlander Folk School, at Monteagle, Tennessee, staged its 25th anniversary seminar on "the human aspects of the integration struggle." Notorious Communists, veteran Communist fellow travelers, and Negro leaders in all the recent major incidents attending integration were present at the seminar (The incident of Little Rock had not yet occurred.)

Before taking up the records of the prominent integrationists who were present, it is necessary to take a look at the Highlander Folk School and its ideological orientation.

The Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was organized around 1932 by Myles Horton and Don West. (See testimony of Paul Crouch, May 6, 1949, Subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, page 193.) In his testimony, Mr. Crouch said: "I would like to mention in this connection that the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was a school organized by Myles Horton and Don West, and which Mr. (James) Dombrowski shortly thereafter joined."

Paul Crouch, who gave the foregoing testimony concerning the Highlander Folk School, was the top Communist Party functionary in the South. His Communist record given to a Senate committee by Crouch himself attests his importance:

The major positions I held in the Communist Party were the head of the Communist Party's department for infiltration of the Armed Forces of the United States, a representative of the Communist Party of the United States to the executive committee of the Communist International in Moscow, a member of a commission in Moscow to draft plans to infiltrate and subvert all the armed forces of the world, and operate as honorary regimental commander of the Red Army, a special student at the Frunze Military Academy in Moscow; I was a member of the editorial staff of the *Daily Worker*, official organ of

the Communist Party, a member of the various commissions of the central and national committee of the party, State or district organizer for Florida, for Utah, for North and South Carolina, and Tennessee, editor of the Communist magazine, *The New South*, the official organ for the Southern States, member of the district bureau of the Communist Party for Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia, and chairman of the control commission of the Communist Party for that area, a member of the district bureau of the Communist Party for California, for Nevada, and Hawaii, national secretary of the Anti Imperialist League, and many other minor positions.

Speaking of James Dombrowski, Mr. Crouch testified as follows: "I have met officially with him on a number of occasions as head of the Communist District Bureau of Tennessee . . . at this conference Mr. Dombrowski gave me the impression of being completely pro-Communist and anxious to collaborate with the Communist Party and follow its leadership, without taking the risk of actual Party membership."

In March 1954, the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security held hearings in New Orleans on the subject of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., of which James Dombrowski was and is the executive director. Among the witnesses who testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security in New Orleans was one John Butler who had formerly been a functionary of the Communist Party in Alabama.

In the course of his testimony, Mr. Butler stated that he attended a meeting of Communist Party leaders in July of 1942, in the Thomas Jefferson Hotel in Birmingham, Alabama. Mr. Butler stated that Alton Lawrence introduced James Dombrowski to him on that occasion as a Communist Party member. (See Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security Hearings, March 18, 1954, page 45.) According to Mr. Butler, this meeting of Communist Party leaders was held in Dombrowski's own hotel room. In November, 1956, Alton Lawrence was indicted on a charge of conspiring to file a false non-Communist affidavit with the National Labor Relations Board, which non-Communist affidavit is required of trade union officials by the Taft-Hartley Act. (See *New York Times*, November 17, 1956.) Alton Lawrence is currently an official of the Communist-controlled International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

In the early period of the Highlander Folk School, Alton Lawrence was a member of its faculty. On August 13, 1938, Mr. John P. Frey, president of the Metal Trades Department of the AFL, testified before the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities, and named Elizabeth Hawes, Alton Lawrence, and Myles Horton as persons who "attended a secret convention in North Carolina, at which time plans were

made for spreading the revolutionary theories throughout the South." Mr. Frey further testified: "In connection with this I might mention that the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was mixed up in this secret convention, in which these three C.I.O. organizers took a very prominent part." (See Dies Committee Hearings, Volume 1, page 126.)

Paul Crouch testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, as follows: "The Highlander Folk School is a school operated at Monteagle, Tennessee, ostensibly as an independent labor school, but actually working in close cooperation with the Communist Party." (See Hearings, page 47.) Dombrowski was an instructor at the Highlander Folk School for a number of years.

The following colloquy took place between Senator Eastland, Committee Counsel Arens, and Mr. Crouch during the latter's testimony:

SENATOR EASTLAND. Mr. Crouch, did you ever visit Dr. Dombrowski's home?

MR. CROUCH. I visited the Highlander Folk School where he was working. I didn't visit at his home, but we spent a night at the same home together, Caroline Stevenson's and he and Leo Sheiner discussed in my presence the actual hideout of Communist leaders the night we were traveling to Winter Haven.

MR. ARENS. He and Sheiner discussed in your presence the hideouts for Communist leaders, top flight leaders; is that correct?

MR. CROUCH. That is correct, sir. (See hearings, p. 52.)

Don West, who has already been mentioned as connected with the Highlander Folk School, was district director of the Communist Party of North Carolina. See House Committee Hearings, May 6, 1949, page 91.)

At the New Orleans hearings of the Senate Committee, on March 20, 1954, Myles Horton was ejected by the United States Marshal from the witness stand and the hearing room, for disorderly conduct.

James Dombrowski's record of pro-Communist activities and connections will be discussed under the section on the Southern Conference Educational Fund, an organization which is playing a key role in the drive for integration in the South.

Abner W. Berry

The presence of a prominent Communist Party Negro leader at the Highlander Folk School seminar is of major significance. Through Abner W. Berry, the Communist Party established personal contacts with the southern leaders of the fight for integration. The Party, in its present-day strategy, sets the highest value on

such personal contacts. It is the current strategy of penetration.

Abner W. Berry is a veteran Communist Party leader. More than 25 years ago, he was a member of the national council of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, a Communist *sputnik* which will be discussed later. For 20 years, Berry has been a member of the national committee of the Communist Party. He has also been a member of the smaller central committee of the Party (*Daily Worker*, May 23, 1938, p. 5). In 1946, he was educational director of the Communist Party of Michigan (*Daily Worker*, Jan. 21, 1946, p. 5). He was an instructor at the Communist Party's Jefferson School of Social Science for several years before the school closed in December, 1956.

Abner W. Berry is, and has been for years, a feature writer for the *Daily Worker*. In this newspaper of the Communist Party, Berry made a lengthy report on his visit to the Highlander Folk School. In his report, Berry said:

Here for four days Negro and white leaders of the South representing millions of southerners, had the precious communications established with each other that had been disconnected during the past few years. (*Daily Worker*, Sept. 10, 1957, p. 5)

Berry has been a writer for other Communist publications: *Masses & Mainstream*, *Michigan Herald*, *New Masses*, *People's Daily World*, and *Political Affairs*. He served for a number of years on the editorial board of *Political Affairs*, the theoretical organ of the Communist Party.

It is apparent that Abner W. Berry is a high ranking leader of the Communist Party. It goes without saying that the Party sent him to the Highlander Folk School seminar. Such leaders receive their assignments from the highest command of the Communist Party; they do not go anywhere on their own. The cordial reception which Berry was accorded at the Highlander Folk School is convincing evidence of the school's ideological orientation.

Berry states that "two southern NAACP branch presidents" attended the Highlander Folk School seminar on integration."

Pete Seeger

Another individual who has a long record of Communist affiliations and activity was also a prominent participant in the Labor Day weekend conference at the Highlander Folk School, namely, Pete Seeger.

Pete Seeger is a nationally known folk singer who has been prominently identified with the Communist movement in this country for many years. He has been named as a member of the Communist Party in sworn testimony.

On August 18, 1955, Pete Seeger was a witness before the house Committee on Un-American Activities. Time and time again, Seeger defiantly refused to answer questions concerning his past or present membership in the Communist Party. He also declined to answer any questions concerning his affiliations with numerous Communist-front organizations. He did not invoke the Fifth Amendment; he simply and contemptuously refused to answer pertinent questions. He was accompanied by Paul L. Ross as counsel. Ross has also been prominent in Communist activity for many years. (See pages 2448-2460 of the Hearings, 1955.)

Among his many Communist connections, Pete Seeger has been publicly affiliated with the following Communist organizations and enterprises which are on the Attorney General's list: American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; American Committee for Yugoslav Relief; American Youth Congress; American Youth for Democracy; Civil Rights Congress; Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy; Committee for the Negro in the Arts; Communist Party; Council on African Affairs; Jefferson School of Social Science; National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; Nature Friends of America; *New Masses*; Voice of Freedom Committee; and Win-the-Peace Conference.

Seeger entertained with his guitar and folk songs at the Highlander Folk School seminar.

John B. Thompson

The Rev. John B. Thompson was billed as seminar director at the Highlander Folk School Labor Day weekend affair. Thompson is dean of the Rockefeller Memorial Chapel at the University of Chicago.

Few clergymen have better claims to qualification as veteran Communist fellow travelers than John B. Thompson. He has served the Communist apparatus and faithfully in many capacities.

Thompson was national chairman of the American Peace Mobilization (*Daily Worker*, Sept. 3, 1940, p. 4) and national chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War (letterhead, Aug. 10, '40). These were organizations set up by the Communists during the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact. On the very day that Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, the American Peace Mobilization dropped its anti-war stand and changed its name to the American People's Mobilization with John B. Thompson still at its head. In testimony before a committee set up by the Illinois Legislature in 1949, John B. Thompson tried to show that the American Peace Mobilization was merely a reflection of the general anti-war sentiment prevailing in the United States in 1939, 1940, and 1941. Such a stand is either dishonest or incredibly stupid. The bona fide anti-war sentiment of the American people prevailed right up until the day of Pearl Harbor. The

phony anti-war stand of the APM and the Communists prevailed right up until June 22, 1941, when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union. The bona fide American peace advocates were ready to go to war only when the United States was attacked; the phony APM and Communist Peace advocates were ready and eager to go to war when their beloved Soviet Union was attacked. The former were America Firsters; the latter were Russia Firsters.

Ten weeks before Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union, the APM, under Thompson's chairmanship, declared: "This is not a war to wipe out the evils of Hitlerism and tyranny . . . It is a war to line the pockets of corporate interests at the expense of the peoples of the World."

In one of its official statements in March, 1941, the APM said: "An English victory will result in the same sort of imperialist, anti-democratic peace as will a Nazi victory."

From 1940 to 1942, John B. Thompson was head of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, a Communist organization which will be discussed later.

Among the many other Communist organizations with which Thompson has been affiliated, the following are on the Attorney General's list: American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; International Labor Defense; Emergency Peace Mobilization; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; and People's Institute of Applied Religion.

Aubrey Williams

Aubrey Williams and the Rev. Martin Luther King were the two featured speakers at the closing session of the Highlander Folk School seminar.

As president of the highly influential Southern Conference Educational Fund, Aubrey Williams ranks among top leaders of all-out integration.

Williams was director of the National Youth Administration under President Roosevelt. He also held other high positions in the New Deal. In 1945, however, the U. S. Senate rejected his appointment as administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration, after his affiliations with the Communist apparatus had been placed in the record. He is at present editor and publisher of the *Southern Farm and Home*, Montgomery, Alabama, which has a circulation of 800,000.

On March 19, 1954, Williams was subpoenaed to testify before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. In the course of his examination by committee counsel Richard Arens, Williams testified that the following passage was a part of a speech which he had delivered in Madison Square Garden, New York City, on September 11, 1947, under the auspices of the Communist-controlled Progressive Citizens of America:

What they demand is that any man who admits to being a member of the Communist Party be fired immediately on the grounds that no man can be loyal to the United States and be a Communist. It is my belief that it is precisely at this point that we take our stand and defend the *right of any Communist* to maintain his position as an employee of the Government of the United States. To take any less position than this is to throw overboard such primary rights as the freedom to think and to hold whatever beliefs one chooses. (Hearings, p. 107; emphasis added)

Anyone holding Aubrey Williams' views on the employment of admitted Communist Party members in the U. S. Government could be expected to welcome the aid of Communist Party members in the drive for integration.

According to Abner W. Berry's account of the Highlander Folk School seminar in the *Daily Worker* (Sept. 1, 1957, p. 5) Aubrey Williams spoke "prophetically" when he declared that the present situation in the South is only a short step to general violence" and that the stuff out of which rebellions are made is definitely being planted."

In the later years of its existence, Aubrey Williams was president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

The name of Aubrey Williams was attached to a list of *amici curiae* on behalf of the Communist Party, the October 1955 Term of the U. S. Supreme Court. Other red-hot integrationists whose names appear on defense of the Communist Party include the following: John M. Coe, James A. Dombrowski, W. E. B. Bois, James W. Ford, W. A. Hunton, and William Patterson.

Aubrey Williams is, and has been for many years, a member of the executive committee of the Highlander Folk School.

It would be superfluous to add further details of the many Communist affiliations of Aubrey Williams.

Martin Luther King

The Rev. Martin Luther King, president of the Montgomery (Ala.) Improvement Association and pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, delivered the opening address at the Highlander Folk School seminar. King is the nationally acclaimed Negro leader of the integration forces in the South. He is scheduled as one of the featured speakers at the forthcoming assembly of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., in December.

It is of great significance that King is in close touch with such Communists and pro-Communists as were enabled at the Highlander Folk School seminar. The Communists would like nothing better than to take him over their wing.

Leading Communists have been writing enthusiastically about King's movement. In the April, 1957, issue of *Political Affairs*, Benjamin J. Davis writes of "the national upsurge of the Negroes in the South, spearheaded by the non-violent integration movement." (p. 13) In his new book entitled *Toward Negro Freedom*, the editor of *Political Affairs*, Herbert Aptheker, writes of King's bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, as follows:

And in Montgomery, Alabama, there is the epic struggle of the entire 50,000 members of its Negro community . . . Here, with women in the lead, is the unparalleled and unbreakable splendor of an entire people speaking out to the world in tones of purity and self-sacrifice and saying: "We will live in freedom, in our own day and here in our own city." (p. 180)

Such rhetoric is calculated to ingratiate the Communists with the Rev. Martin Luther King and his large following. The art of flattery is the current tactic of Communist penetration. The tactical crudities of the Party's early years have given way to subtle refinements in penetrating Negro organizations and movements. The Communist Party, however, does not repudiate its former methods which breathed revolutionary fire and brimstone. Writing in *Political Affairs*, James E. Jackson (one of the top Negro leaders of the Communist Party) says:

It has for three decades been the honorable (sic) task of Communists to set a high standard of devotion to and energetic leadership in the fight for Negro rights. Recognizing the special national character of this question, we have raised our voices among the workers when others stood mute. (Resolution presented to the 16th National Convention of the CPUSA by James E. Jackson, chairman of the Subcommittee on Negro Rights; *Political Affairs*, March, 1957, p. 34)

Jackson thus fondly embraces the Communist Party's record in the African Blood Brotherhood, the American Negro Labor Congress, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, the National Negro Congress, and other misadventures in its efforts to kindle revolutionary ardor among American Negroes.

Now, the Party looks upon Martin Luther King's work and movement as a new opportunity to incite racial animosity, and upon King's attendance at the Highlander Folk School seminar as a most desirable contact.

In its present adulation of Martin Luther King and his kind of "liberation" movement, the Communist Party still bows reverently at the altar of Marxist-Leninist Theory. James E. Jackson, quoted above on

the subject of the Party's past, turns to the Communist Party's present and writes:

As the advance guard of the American working class, the Communist Party must continue to make its contributions to the fight for Negro rights, under the changed conditions of today, as effectively, as honorably, as it did in previous periods of struggle. The fight for Negro rights needs the contribution which Communists, guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, are in a position to make. (p. 34)

On February 21, 1956, after the bus boycott in Montgomery had run for 11 weeks, the Negro leaders of the boycott were arrested and charged with violation of Alabama's anti-boycott statute. The Rev. Martin Luther King was among those arrested. On March 22, he was found guilty and fined \$500. The case is on appeal.

It is interesting to note that the proponents of public school integration in the South make a great to-do about the U. S. Supreme Court's decision of May 17, 1954, by claiming with unparalleled vehemence that the decision is "the law of the land." On the other hand, they ignore with complete unanimity the U. S. Supreme Court's decision of 1908 declaring the organized boycott of the Danbury Hatters to be in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, the principle of which decision is reflected in Alabama's anti-boycott statute.

Mrs. Rosa Parks

It goes almost without saying that Mrs. Rosa Parks was in attendance at the Highlander Folk School seminar.

It was Mrs. Parks who started the Montgomery bus boycott. On December 1, 1955, when she refused to sit in a seat in the rear of a bus, she was arrested and fined \$14. Shortly prior to her dramatic defiance of the segregation ordinance, Mrs. Parks had taken a course at Highlander Folk School.

Mrs. Parks promptly became a heroine to the Communists. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, a Communist front, arranged meetings for her in New York City, including one at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Corliss Lamont.

Charles G. Gomillion

Charles G. Gomillion, dean of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, was one of the prominent participants in the Labor Day conference at the Highlander Folk School.

As president of the Tuskegee Civic Association, Gomillion received a considerable amount of publicity in the nation's press in the summer of 1957, in connection with his leadership of a Negro boycott against the white merchants of the town of Tuskegee. This was one of the recent militant activities of Southern Negroes. On August 15, 1957, an injunction was issued against the

boycott on the ground that it was a violation of Alabama's anti-boycott statute. (*New York Times*, Aug. 17, 1957)

Gomillion's organized boycott began on June 26, after a mass meeting of the Tuskegee Civic Association in protest against the Alabama legislature's proposed revision of Tuskegee's city limits. Gomillion did not even allege that the white merchants were in any way responsible for the initiation of the revision.

Dean Gomillion's pro-Communist connections have been significant. In testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on July 21, 1947, he was identified as a current member and secretary of the advisory board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, an outright Communist organization (see below).

In a press release dated April 21, 1947, Gomillion was listed as a signer of a manifesto of Negro leaders against the outlawing of the Communist Party. The manifesto was released from 23 West 26th Street, New York City, which is now the national headquarters of the Communist Party, and which, in 1947, was headquarters of a dozen Communist organizations including the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. Co-signers of the manifesto included such Communist stalwarts as Paul Robeson, W. E. B. DuBois, Benjamin J. Davis, and Doxey A. Wilkerson. The signers called upon the President and Congress "to repudiate decisively the fascist-like proposal . . . to illegalize the Communist Party," and declared: "We will resist with all our power every step taken in that direction."

The Worker, Communist Party Sunday newspaper, of August 29, 1948, carried a full-page advertisement of an enterprise called The First Line of Defense. It was another manifesto in defense of the Communist Party, opening with the following words addressed to the President and the Attorney General: "We, the undersigned Negro Americans, strongly condemn your hysteria-breeding arrests of the Negro leaders of the Communist Party, and call upon you to take positive action to protect civil rights instead of persecuting political minorities." This manifesto, too, was signed by Charles G. Gomillion. Co-signers included the following notorious Communist Party leaders of the Negro race: Louis E. Burnham, Ernest Thompson, Abner W. Berry (one of the participants in the Highlander Folk School conference), James W. Ford, Harry Haywood, W. A. Hunton, Richard B. Moore, S. C. Patterson, and Doxey Wilkerson.

Gomillion sponsored a testimonial dinner for W. E. B. DuBois whose services to the Communist cause have been enormous. The dinner was given at Essex House, New York City, on February 23, 1951. Prominent Communists who co-sponsored this DuBois testimonial dinner included the following: Herbert Aptheker, Mrs. Louise Berman, Howard Fast, Frederick V. Field, Ben

Gold, W. A. Hunton, Albert E. Kahn, William L. Patterson, Melba Phillips, Joseph Selly, Howard Selsam, Mr. and Mrs. Alfred K. Stern (who recently fled behind the Iron Curtain to escape indictments for espionage), and Gene Weltfish.

Charles G. Gomillion is a member of the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, an organization whose ideological orientation toward Communism will be discussed later.

Gomillion and his Tuskegee Civic Association are part of an interlocking apparatus which includes the Highlander Folk School and the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

In his 1956 presidential report to the Tuskegee Civic Association, Dean Gomillion stated that at one of their meetings in February, 1956, a speaker discussed "the role of the Highlander Folk School, and the search for an effective social action program." He also stated that one of the major roles of the Tuskegee Civic Association was cooperation "with the Highlander Folk School in their effort to develop effective personal and group techniques for facilitating racial desegregation."

In view of the fact that Gomillion and his TCA had been cooperating with the Highlander Folk School for at least a year and a half, it may be presumed that his illegal boycott of the white merchants of Tuskegee was one of the group techniques worked out by the two organizations. Furthermore, it may be assumed that Gomillion's close association with the Communist apparatus, as set forth above, was some kind of preparation for his adoption of the militant boycott technique.

The manager of Tuskegee's largest department store was quoted in the *New York Times*, as follows: "The Negro leaders picked the wrong target. The merchants didn't have anything to do with Senator Engelhardt's bill. I think they realize that the boycott is unfair. We've worked closely with the Negroes on charity drives and when they asked for credit we extended it without question." It is, of course, standard Communist tactics to exacerbate existing tensions and to create racial strife where none had existed.

Red B. Routh

The Southern Regional Council was represented at the Highlander Folk School seminar in the person of Red B. Routh. Mr. Routh bears the title of assistant director of the Southern Regional Council.

The Southern Regional Council, recipient of a grant of \$245,000 from the Fund for the Republic, is one of the most influential organizations of whites and Negroes in the South. It has been penetrated by the Communist front apparatus.

The following directors of the Southern Regional Council have been affiliated with Communist organizations:

Rufus B. Atwood, president of Kentucky State College
Brailsford R. Brazeal, professor at Morehouse College
Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University
J. M. Ellison, president of Virginia Union University
Charles G. Gomillion, dean of Tuskegee Institute
Charles S. Johnson, late president of Fisk University
R. O'Hara Lanier, president of Texas Southern University

Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College
Jacob L. Reddix, president of Jackson State College
H. C. Trenholm, president of Alabama State College for Negroes

All of the foregoing directors of the Southern Regional Council are Negroes and all are connected with Negro institutions of higher learning.

Others Present

The Rev. David H. Brooks, Protestant Episcopal high church clergyman (Negro), was a speaker at the Highlander Folk School seminar. He was a leader of the Tallahassee bus boycott which occurred during the last seven months of 1956.

The *Daily Worker*, July 1, 1952, carried a front-page story about a petition drawn up by the noted pro-Communist, W. E. B. DuBois, urging President Truman to adopt a policy of "withdrawal of military forces and installations by the U. S. and all other governments from all foreign territory where their presence is not authorized by agreement of all the major powers." Such a policy would, of course, be a Communist booby trap. Of the alleged 160 Negro signers of this DuBois petition, the names of only four were given in the *Daily Worker*; and one of the four was the name of the Rev. David H. Brooks.

Allen McSwain (Negro) was a speaker who represented the Clinton, Tennessee, school incident.

Bernice Robinson, also a speaker at the Highlander Folk School seminar, discussed the Johns Island, South Carolina, integration incident.

Conrad Browne (white) came to the seminar from Koinonia Farm, an interracial colony near Americus, Georgia. This interracial community has been an incitement to prolonged violence.

Ralph Helstein, president of the United Packing House Workers of America, AFL-CIO, was also a speaker. This union has been heavily infiltrated by known Communists.

A Succession of Sputniks for Negroes

One of the top leaders of the Communist International, Otto Kuusinen, said in a speech before the executive committee of the C.I. that it was the first business of the Communists to launch satellite organizations and committees. In *The Communist* of May, 1931, Kuusinen was quoted on these satellites of the Communist Party, as follows:

The first part of our task is to build up, not only Communist organizations, but other organizations as well, above all mass organizations sympathizing with our aims and able to aid us for special purposes . . . We must create a whole solar system of organizations and smaller committees around the Communist Party, so to speak, smaller organizations working actually under the influence of our Party (not under mechanical leadership). (p. 409-423; emphasis in original)

The satellite or *sputnik* organizations which the Communist Party in the United States has launched especially for Negroes are far too numerous to name all of them. Brief sketches of the principal *sputniks* in this category will, however, serve to illuminate the aims and tactics of the American Communist Party with respect to the Negroes of the United States.

A partial list of the Communist *sputniks* for Negroes follows:

African Blood Brotherhood
Alabama Peoples Educational Association
Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity
Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor
League of Struggle for Negro Rights
Negro Labor Victory Committee
Southern Negro Youth Congress
United Negro and Allied Veterans of America
Abolish Peonage Committee
American Negro Labor Congress
American Negro Labor Council
Committee to Defend Angelo Herndon
Committee for the Negro in the Arts
Committee to Aid the Fighting South
Frederick Douglass Educational Center
Martinsville Seven Committee
National Negro Congress
Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy
Southern Conference for Human Welfare
Southern Conference Educational Fund

Of these, only the Southern Conference Educational Fund is still in existence.

African Blood Brotherhood

The African Blood Brotherhood was the first *sputnik* in the Communist Party's system of satellites. It was penetrated and captured, not originally launched, by the Communists.

Joseph Zack Kornfeder, then a leading member of the Communist Party, has told the following story of the penetration and capture of the African Blood Brotherhood:

... the Communist Party activities amongst the Negroes here in the United States started about 1921, and were prompted by a letter sent to the American Party by Nikolai Lenin . . . Well, so, of course, the

party couldn't ignore a letter from Nikolai Lenin . . . I was then the junior member of the Central Committee . . . Well, when I looked around I found that there was simply no Negro membership in the Communist Party . . . I knew from the Socialist Party that there were some Negroes in Harlem in a branch of the Socialist Party which was mostly Negroes, although there were also whites in the same branch, and I looked up one of them and he advised me to see an individual by the name of Cyril Briggs. Well, I looked up this individual, and he was the editor of a paper called *The Crusader*, which was the official organ of a Negro organization called the African Blood Brotherhood. Well, I put in quite an effort on this fellow Briggs, to see whether I could work him over ideologically, and as I got acquainted with him, I noticed that he was having his financial troubles publishing the paper. I didn't tell him that I represented the Communist Party, of course. I just posed as a liberal uncle, who had his sympathies on the Negro side, and was willing to help him. Whenever he ran into some trouble about paying the printer, well, I always obliged with a few hundred dollars. This way I became friends with this Briggs and I worked him over ideologically, and the cant of the journal changed. And, of course, in due time I got at some of his friends who were on the Board of Directors, and, well, it took only about a year before the controlling influence in that organization upon top was exerted through me, and they pretty nearly would do, although they weren't yet in the party, what I wanted them to do. Well, and later on I signed him up into the Communist Party as a member. So that was the first Negro organization that the party got hold of ideologically, at least—later on organizationally. That's how the thing started. (*Subversion in Racial Unrest*, Baton Rouge, La., March 6-9, 1957, p. 37)

Cyril Briggs went on to become one of the most prominent Negro leaders in the history of the Communist Party in the United States.

American Negro Labor Congress

The American Negro Labor Congress was organized in Chicago in October, 1925. It was a Communist *united front* maneuver and the successor to the African Blood Brotherhood.

In his book entitled *The Negro People in American History*, William Z. Foster writes concerning the ANLC as follows:

The American Negro Labor Congress was organized in Chicago in November 1925, mainly upon the initiative of the Communists . . . The leader of the movement was Lovett Fort-Whiteman, and its journal was *The Champion*. Outstanding Communist Negro

workers in it were James W. Ford, Harry Haywood, Maude White, and many others . . . Its membership was eventually confined mainly to Communists. (p. 460)

Lovett Fort-Whiteman was a student at the Lenin School in Moscow, an institution at which foreign Communists were taught the theory and tactics of propaganda, agitation, and espionage. Fort-Whiteman was also an American delegate to the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International in 1928. (*International Press Correspondence*, July 25, 1928, p. 708)

Foster says that the ANLC "was handicapped by sectarianism—by writing too 'left' a program for the masses." Foster also maintains that the ANLC encountered "strong opposition" from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League.

On the eve of the organization of the ANLC, Lovett Fort-Whiteman announced, with pride and obviously less exaggeration, that—

Each day, everyone promoting the American Negro Labor Congress notes a growing uneasiness in the ruling class of this country in contemplation of the coming American Negro Labor Congress. (*Daily Worker*, October 7, 1925, p. 3)

The Communist International (a mere euphemism for the Kremlin) kept a watchful eye on the American Communist Party and all the little *sputniks* revolving around

The American Negro Labor Congress, insignificant it was, did not escape the attention of the Musovite bosses of the American Communists.

In a resolution of October 26, 1928, three years after the launching of the *sputnik* known as the ANLC, the Communist International said:

The American Negro Labor Congress continues to exist only nominally. Every effort should be made to strengthen this organization as a medium through which we can extend the work of the Party among the Negro masses and mobilize the Negro workers under our leadership. (*The Communist Position on the Negro Question*, p. 59)

The directives of the Communist International for the American Communist Party were supervised and forced on the scene by a personal representative of the Communist International. In 1928, one of these agents of the Comintern in the United States was John Pepper. Benjamin Gitlow identifies Pepper in the following words:

A commander of the Hungarian Red Army in 1919, he had fled to Russia after the overthrow of the Hungarian Soviet Republic and along with Bela Kun became an important functionary of the Comintern,

In Hungary his name had been Josef Pogany; he came to America as John Pepper. (*I Confess*, p. 136)

In a pamphlet entitled *American Negro Problems*, published by Workers Library Publishers in 1928, John Pepper wrote concerning the ANLC, as follows:

The American Negro Labor Congress which is still very weak, must be reorganized and activated. The Communists working within this organization should try to make it serve as an *intermediary mass organization, as a medium through which the Party can extend its work among the Negro masses and mobilize the Negro workers under its leadership.* (emphasis in original; p. 15)

When the *sputnik* named American Negro Labor Congress petered out, it was brought down and a new one was launched.

James W. Ford, twice vice-presidential candidate on the Communist Party ticket, records that the frank anti-religious position of the American Negro Labor Congress was one of the reasons for its failure. In his book, *The Negro and the Democratic Front*, published in 1938, Ford wrote:

I recall particularly the strict and unyielding attitude taken by the leaders of the American Negro Labor Congress toward religion. This attitude prevented the Congress from becoming a mass influence among church people. At an A. N. L. C. meeting in Chicago, 1926, composed of a large number of religious people, a leader of the organization in the course of his remarks, said: "To hell with religion; damn the church." (p. 82)

Ford then told how the Communist Party changed its tactics and made dupes of church organizations and religious people:

But today in the National Negro Congress church organizations and religious people work co-operatively with non-church people. Our Negro Communists are fraternizing with church people in order to organize them in the struggle for Negro liberation. (*ibid*, p. 82-83)

Ford's meaning is crystal clear: the Communists adopted a policy of tactical silence with respect to their basic contempt for, and hostility toward, religion and the churches—a policy which continues today.

The last convention of the American Negro Labor Congress was held in St. Louis in November, 1930, where, by unanimous decision, the name was changed to the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. (*ibid*, p. 83)

League of Struggle for Negro Rights

Immediate successor to the American Negro Labor Congress, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights was

the same old *sputnik* with a new name. The names of communist *sputniks* have had a way of wearing out and, when they do, the Party thinks up new names in order to seduce new followers. Thus, the American League Against War and Fascism became the American League for Peace and Democracy when the new united-front line was adopted after the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in 1935. During World War II, the Young Communist League metamorphosed into American Youth for Democracy on October 7, 1943—same convention, same officers, same revolutionary objectives. Later on, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare became the Southern Conference Educational Fund in 1947—same officers, same address, same telephone number, same publication (*Southern Patriot*), and same Communist objectives.

There was no attempt to conceal the Communist Party's control of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. Among the national council members of the organization were such high functionaries of the Communist Party as William Z. Foster, Earl Browder, James W. Ford, Robert Minor, Benjamin J. Davis, Harry Haywood, Cyril Briggs, Clarence Hathaway, Irving Potash, Luis Weinstock, Israel Amter, Claude Lightfoot, and James W. Berry (of the Highlander Folk School seminar). (*Equality, Land, and Freedom: A Program for Negro Liberation*, published by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, New York, 1933, p. 44-46)

Langston Hughes was president of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights.

In its *Program for Negro Liberation*, the LSNR rejected the doctrine of Negro nationhood:

We proclaim before the whole world that the American Negroes are a nation—a nation striving toward manhood but whose growth is violently retarded and which is viciously oppressed by American imperialism. The program here presented outlines the only course of action which guarantees the development of the American Negroes to full nationhood, which will elevate them to that rightful place of equality before all and subservience before none. (ibid, p. 7-8)

The program of the LSNR also reiterated the Communist demands for confiscation of the property of the Southern whites:

The League of Struggle for Negro Rights therefore demands the confiscation without compensation of the land of the big landlords and capitalists in the South and its distribution among the Negroes and white small farmers and sharecroppers. (ibid, p. 10)

In his Report of the Central Committee to the Eighth National Convention of the Communist Party, held in Cleveland, Ohio, April 2-8, 1934, Earl Browder said:

A more broad and all-inclusive organizational form for the Negro liberation struggles is the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. This should embrace in its activities all of the basic economic organizations of Negro and white workers standing on the program of Negro liberation, and further unite with them all other sections of the Negro population drawn towards this struggle, especially those large sections of the petty-bourgeoisie, intellectuals, professionals, who can and must be won to the national liberation cause. The L. S. N. R. must, in the first place, be an active federation of existing mass organizations; and secondly, it must directly organize its own membership branches composed of its most active forces and all supporters otherwise unorganized. The present beginnings of the L. S. N. R. and its paper, *The Liberator*, which with only a little attention have already shown mass vitality, must be energetically taken up, and spread throughout the country. (*Communism in the United States*, 1935, p. 9)

Browder's grandiose conception of the LSNR was a piece of typical Communist wishful thinking. The LSNR gave way to the National Negro Congress in 1936.

National Negro Congress

The fact that the Communist Party was preparing to launch one of its *sputniks*, the National Negro Congress, was noisily proclaimed long before it was sent revolving around the Party.

The very suggestion that the National Negro Congress be launched was made by the Negro Communist leader, James W. Ford. In his book, *The Negro People in American History*, William Z. Foster writes:

This broad movement (the National Negro Congress), which operated in the tradition of the historic Negro people's conventions, had been suggested two years before by James W. Ford, in a debate with Oscar de Priest and Frank Crosswaith. (p. 488)

The *Party Organizer* of March, 1935, let it be known that the Communist Party was laying careful plans to launch the National Negro Congress. This was almost one year before its plans came to fruition. *The Party Organizer*, in publishing excerpts from a report to one of the plenums of the Communist Party, said:

In connection with the question of the united front on the Negro question—if we work properly now and see that we must penetrate these organizations (the churches, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, etc.) there is the possibility of building up a National Negro Congress on a broad united front basis. We had a discussion about this conference in the N. Y. District (of the Communist Party) in which we discussed the Negro

question, and the possibility of a National Negro Congress. If we make the proper orientation, we will be able to build the biggest Congress of Negro people ever held. It means patient work in (non-Communist) Negro organizations. (p. 21)

It is obvious that the Communist Party had even elected the name of the new *sputnik* a year in advance of its launching.

In a condensation of Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*, Arnold Rose says that "the National Negro Congress grew out of a conference in the spring of 1935 held at Howard University under the joint auspices of its Division of Social Sciences and of the Joint Committee on National Recovery." (*The Negro in America*, p. 262) This joint conference at Howard University was held in May. The *Party Organizer* of March, 1935, quoted above, is a documentary refutation of the parentage of the National Negro Congress as given in Arnold Rose's condensation of *An American Dilemma*.

In a confidential memorandum of the Department of Justice, issued for the guidance of the departmental heads of the federal government, the Attorney General of the United States made the following observation concerning the National Negro Congress:

The National Negro Congress, throughout its existence, has closely followed the Communist Party lines, espousing causes and adopting issues sponsored by the Party . . . In the field of American foreign policy it called for united action on the part of the Democracies (including the Soviet Union) against fascism prior to the Russo-German pact of non-aggression, but after the signing of the pact assailed the "imperialist conflict" as having "nothing to do with saving and extending democracy." When the Nazis attacked Russia, however, the leaders of the (National Negro) Congress advocated all-out aid to the Soviet Union and urged immediate entrance of the United States into the war on the side of Britain and the Allies.

Supporting the foregoing view of the Attorney General, the Third National Negro Congress meeting in Washington, D. C., in April, 1940, adopted the following resolution.

The National Negro Congress declares that the Negro people have everything to lose and nothing to gain by American involvement in the imperialist war and sharply condemns the Administration for the steps it has taken towards involvement and the partiality it has shown.

On October 16, 1940, speaking under the auspices of the Church League for Industrial Democracy in Kansas City, Missouri, Max Yergen (president of the National Negro Congress) toed the Communist Party line on the subject of the war, in the following words:

We do not believe we have any business allying ourselves with either of the belligerent sides now responsible for the war . . . It becomes clear that the similarities between fascist and imperialist rule are numerous and strong. (*Democracy and the Negro People Today*, p. 9 and 12)

Max Yergen has since made a clean break with the Communist apparatus.

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (AFL), was the first president of the National Negro Congress. He was, in fact, already designated as president of the NNC when the new organization was first convened in Chicago on February 14, 1936. The Communist Party had, of course, selected Randolph for the position. The Party had left nothing to chance or the delegates to the Congress.

On account of illness, Randolph was not present at the 1936 sessions of the National Negro Congress. His presidential address, prepared before the Congress met, was read by Charles Wesley Burton, a Negro lawyer from Chicago.

Randolph's address was the kind which might well have been prepared at Communist Party headquarters. With typical soapbox flourishes, Randolph said:

. . . the Negro people face a hard, deceptive and brutal capitalist order, despite its preachers of Christian love and brotherhood.

What has brought us to this insistent question? The answer in brief lies in the (First) World War, the sharpening and deepening of capitalist exploitation of the workers of hand and brain, the acceleration of a technological revolution creating a standing army of unemployed, the ripening and maturing of monopoly capitalism thru trustification, rationalization and the rapid march of financial imperialism, and the intensification of racial and religious hatreds, together with increasingly blatant and provocative nationalism.

But the war itself was the effect of a deeper cause and that cause was the profit system which provides and permits the enrichment of the few at the expense of the many . . . (*The Official Proceedings of the National Negro Congress*, 1936, p. 8, 9)

Randolph paid his respects to the Communist Party's International Labor Defense. He said:

Those organizations that are serving on the civil rights front effectively for the Negro are the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the International Labor Defense. (*ibid* p. 10)

In fairness to A. Philip Randolph, and to complete the record, it must be pointed out that eventually he became disgusted with the Communist domination of the National Negro Congress and resigned from its presidency. After the meeting of the Third Congress, Randolph wrote:

... I consider the Communists a definite menace and a danger to the Negro people and labor, because of their rule or ruin and disruptive tactics in the interest of the Soviet Union ... The Congress was deliberately packed with Communists and C. I. O. members who were either Communists or sympathizers with Communists ...

I quit the congress because I was opposed to it, or its officials, expressing sympathy for the Soviet Union, which is the death prison where democracy and liberty have walked their "last mile" and where shocking blood purges wipe out any and all persons who express any dissenting opinions from dictator Stalin.

I quit the congress because I saw that the Communists were firmly in the saddle ... Their minds were already made up when they came there by Communists' manipulations, caucuses, and propaganda ... I quit the congress because it was not truly a Negro Congress. (Congressional Record, May 14, 1940, p. 2944-5)

The Communist domination of the National Negro Congress was, of course, evident from the beginning to one sufficiently interested in the evidence.

Despite the plain truth about the Communists and the NNC, it received a boost from Norman Thomas, Philip Murray, and Walter White of the N.A.A.C.P.—of whom appeared as speakers at the Second National Negro Congress in October, 1937.

The Second National Negro Congress was convened in Philadelphia. The NNC officials made arrangements for a special train from New York to Philadelphia, through World Tourists, a Soviet travel and espionage agency.

In addition to Walter White of the N.A.A.C.P., the National Negro Congress was able to attract, as speakers or sponsors, many other Negro leaders among whom were the following: Frederick D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute; Rufus B. Atwood, president of Kentucky State College; John M. Ellison, president of Virginia Union University; David D. Jones, president of Bennett College; R. O'Hara Lanier, president of Texas Southern University; and Jacob L. Reddix, president of Jackson State College.

The National Negro Congress also enlisted as stooges following bishops of Negro churches: Bishop James E. Bray, Colored Methodist Episcopal; Bishop R. A. Carter, Colored Methodist Episcopal; Bishop W. J. Mills, African Methodist Episcopal Zion; Bishop R. Wright, African Methodist Episcopal; Bishop W. A. M. Tainton, African Methodist Episcopal; and Reverdy Ransom, African Methodist Episcopal.

The affiliations of these Negro college presidents and Negro bishops indicate that the Communist Party has

had a large measure of success in penetrating the ranks of Negro educators and clergymen.

During the period extending from 1936 to the end of World War II, the National Negro Congress and the Communist Party dropped such slogans as "A Negro Republic in the Black Belt" and "The Liberation of the Oppressed Negro Nation." This was in keeping with the Communist Party's new tactical orientation of the People's Front. After World War II, the Communists reverted to their basic disloyalty to the United States. Communists in the armed forces of the United States fought with great zeal in the war against the Axis Powers, not out of any loyalty to their own country but because their adopted "fatherland," the Soviet Union, was a co-belligerent.

Following World War II, the National Negro Congress and the Communist Party showed their true colors. On June 6, 1946, the NNC addressed a petition to the United Nations, requesting that foreign agency to conduct an investigation into the oppression of the Negro people.

Communist tactics are always subject to drastic alteration without notice, but the basic aim of violent revolution is never abandoned.

The National Negro Congress was liquidated in 1947. It had served the purposes of the Communist conspiracy admirably for almost a decade, but during its later years it had become so indelibly stamped as a Soviet *sputnik* that its influence outside the immediate circle of Communists was rapidly approaching the vanishing point.

Never discouraged, and always ready to start all over again, the Party went on to the launching of new *sputniks*.

Southern Negro Youth Congress

The Southern Negro Youth Congress originated as the youth section of the National Negro Congress. Its first conference was held in Richmond, Virginia, February 13-14, 1937, at the Fifth Street Baptist Church.

The late Edward E. Strong, Communist Party Negro leader, was chairman of the youth section of the NNC and of the SNYC.

The SNYC was formed during the era of the People's Front, and its behavior was guided accordingly. At its first session, the pastor of the Baptist Church pronounced an invocation. There was nothing of the damn-the-church attitude which had characterized the period of the American Negro Labor Congress, although the Communists were in complete control.

Speakers at the first conference of the SNYC included E. Franklin Frazier, professor at Howard University, Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University, and Angelo Herndon.

During the conference, a seminar was devoted to the subject, "The Role of the Negro Church in Solving the

Social and Economic Problems of Negro Youth." The leader of the seminar was Herbert M. Smith, dean of the School of Religion, Bishop College, Marshall, Texas. Participants in the seminar discussion were Harold Roland, School of Religion, Howard University, and James A. Cox, School of Religion, Virginia Union University. The Rev. C. E. Queen, pastor of the Leigh Street Methodist Church, also pronounced an invocation.

At one session of the Richmond conference, W. F. Richardson, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, presided. The NAACP national headquarters had a full-page advertisement in the souvenir program.

The SNYC had a Communist affiliate known as the Association of Young Writers and Artists. The association was dedicated to "stimulating and encouraging individual and group expression in the fields of art by Negro youth, increasing the means whereby the finest cultural contributions of Negro youth may be made available to the general public . . ." Toward this end, the association conducted an essay contest on the subject, "What is your interpretation of the novel 'Freedom Road' by Howard Fast?"

The secretary of the Association of Young Writers and Artists was Louis E. Burnham, Communist Party Negro leader who numbered among his later Communist activities an instructorship in the Jefferson School of Social Science and membership on the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

The honorary members of the Association of Young Writers and Artists read like a roster of distinguished Negro travelers. Among the honorary members were the following: Louis Adamic, Countee Cullen, W. E. B. DuBois, Oscar Hammerstein, W. C. Handy, Langston Hughes, Canada Lee, Rayford W. Logan, Carey McWilliams, Dorothy Parker, Pearl Primus, and Kenneth Tencer. (*People's Daily World*, Oct. 2, 1944, p. 5) James W. Ford rushed back to report to the Central Committee of the Communist Party on the Richmond conference of the SNYC. (*The Negro and the Democratic Front*, p. 113-119) His enthusiasm was unbounded.

The Communist Party had made a new and deeper penetration into the South.

William Z. Foster has recently made the following wing appraisal of the work and influence of the Southern Negro Youth Congress:

Most important was the united front Southern Negro Youth Congress . . . Leaders in this organization were Edward Strong, James W. Ford, James Jackson, Henry Winston, Louis Burnham, and Esther Cooper . . . In 1946, when it held its seventh convention in the out-of-the-way Southern city of Columbia, South Carolina, 1,000 delegates were present . . . The S.N.Y.C. was the most important movement ever conducted by Negro youth. It pioneered many of

the constructive developments now taking place in the South . . . (*The Negro People in American History*, p. 486)

The Southern Negro Youth Congress was liquidated in 1948. The days of the People's Front were over, at least for the time being.

Southern Conference for Human Welfare

The first big penetration of the Communist Party into the South came with the launching of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in November 1938. The launching took place in Birmingham, Alabama, with the blessings of the White House. Eleanor Roosevelt was the principal speaker.

On November 22, 1938, Mrs. Roosevelt, addressing the conference said: "The eyes of the world are upon us . . . The future of democracy rests with the nation's youth. Face the question with open minds and above all make sure a thing is true before accepting it as true. On this alone can we stake our hopes for democracy." (*Report of Proceedings of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare*, p. 29)

Franklin D. Roosevelt sent a letter to the Birmingham conference, in which he said: ". . . if you steer a true course and keep everlastingly at it, the South will long be thankful for this day." (ibid, p. 2)

Paul Crouch, John Donovan, James Jackson, Robert F. Hall, and Don West—all Communist Party members—manipulated the conference from behind the scenes. William Z. Foster writes with unusual modesty: "Communist influence was strong in the S.C.H.W. from the start and this was reflected in the advanced program it adopted." (*The Negro People in American History*, p. 487)

The first president of the SCHW was Frank P. Graham, then president of the University of North Carolina. Later presidents were John B. Thompson (of the Highlander Folk School seminar) and Clark Foreman (now director of the Communist-controlled Emergency Civil Liberties Committee). Throughout most of its existence, which extended down to 1948, James A. Domrowski was administrator of the SCHW.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities had something to do with the liquidation of the SCHW, but the decisive factor in its demise was the switch from the wartime honeymoon of the Washington-Moscow axis to the Cold War.

Under date of March 29, 1944, the Dies Committee dubbed the SCHW a Communist front, and in a special report of the Committee on Un-American Activities, dated June 12, 1947, the following indictment of the SCHW was made:

Careful examination of its official publication and its activities will disclose that the conference is being

used in devious ways to further basic Soviet and Communist policy. Decisive and key posts are in most instances controlled by persons whose record is faithful to the line of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union. (p. 1)

In a 1954 report, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee reached the following unanimous conclusion: "The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was conceived, financed, and set up by the Communist Party in 1938 as a mass organization to promote communism throughout the Southern States." (p. v)

Southern Conference Educational Fund

Attention has already been called to the fact that the Southern Conference for Human Welfare metamorphosed into the Southern Conference Educational Fund in the middle of 1948. In the shift from one name to the other, the organization maintained the same headquarters, the same telephone number, the same publication, and the same executive director.

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee reported in 1954 that "an objective study of the entire record compels the conclusion that the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., is operating with substantially the same leadership and purposes as a predecessor organization, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare." By "the same leadership and purposes," the Senate Committee meant that the Southern Conference Educational Fund, like the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, was "a mass organization to promote Communism throughout the Southern states."

Much has already been said about Aubrey Williams, president, and James A. Dombrowski, executive director, of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. It may be added that the names of both Williams and Dombrowski were attached to the brief *amici curiae* which was submitted to the United States Supreme Court, October, 1955, Term, on behalf of the Communist Party, U. S. A. Their support of this brief *amici curiae*, written with a typical Communist flair, sufficiently reveals the ideological position of these two principal officials of the SCEF.

As has already been indicated, the Southern Conference Educational Fund exerts a commanding influence in the South today, and is in the vanguard of the pro-Communist integration forces. The principal function of the Southern Conference Educational Fund is to serve as a bridge between the Communist Party on the one hand and misguided Southern Liberals on the other hand. In this function, it has been remarkably successful.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

A special word concerning the NAACP is necessary. This organization is *not* a Communist front.

The NAACP has published a pamphlet by its Assistant Field Secretary, Herbert Hill, entitled "The Communist Party—Enemy of Negro Equality." This pamphlet is a devastating indictment of Communist views and tactics on the Negro question.

In a foreword to the pamphlet by Herbert Hill, Roy Wilkins correctly appraises the Communist interest in the Negro question, as follows: "Far from being sincere about doing something for Negro rights, the Communists use the Negro merely as a pawn in the Soviet campaign against the United States and the western world."

On the other hand, it must be observed that the NAACP has been a prime objective of Communist penetration and, in numerous instances, prominent individuals connected with the NAACP have succumbed to the appeals of the Communist-front apparatus. Proof that the NAACP has been troubled with the problem of Communist penetration is to be found in a resolution adopted at the 1956 annual NAACP convention, which reads as follows: "As in the past, the Association will employ every reasonable measure in keeping with democratic organizational principles to prevent the endorsers, the supporters and defenders of the Communist conspiracy from joining or participating in any way in the work of the NAACP."

On November 11, 1957, the *New York Times* reported that the NAACP had rejected the membership application of Benjamin J. Davis, New York state chairman of the Communist Party, and had declined a gift of \$50 offered by Davis.

The foregoing statements and actions of the leaders of the NAACP appear to be clear and decisive, but they tell only half of the story. The other half of the story is that many of the leaders of the NAACP have been unusually susceptible to joining, supporting, and defending the front organizations of the Communist conspiracy.

The indisputable truth of the matter is that the leaders of the NAACP, taken as a whole, have been extraordinarily soft toward the Communist conspiracy.

In the so-called anti-Communist resolution adopted at the San Francisco convention in 1956, there would appear to be a big loophole in the phrase, "every reasonable measure in keeping with democratic organizational principles." Obviously, "democratic organizational principles" do not prevent a person from holding high position in the NAACP and high position in a Communist organization at one and the same time.

Two examples of NAACP officials who are currently prominent in the affairs of Communist organizations will illustrate the interlocking of the NAACP and the Communist apparatus.

Andrew D. Weinberger, a national vice-president of the NAACP, is listed as treasurer on the 1957 letterhead of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, one of the

most active Communist organizations in the United States at the present time.

John Wesley Dobbs, a national vice-president of the NAACP, is a member of the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the most influential Communist organization currently operating in the South. Mr. Dobbs was a guest of honor at a 1957 meeting of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. He was also a signer of the brief *amici curiae* submitted to the U. S. Supreme Court on behalf of the Communist Party in the fall of 1955.

It may be enlightening to give some totals which indicate the extent to which the top leadership of the NAACP has given aid and comfort to the Communist-front apparatus. Listed on the current letterheads of the NAACP are the names of 236 different national officers. One hundred forty-five (or more than 61 percent) of these individuals have been involved, in one way or another, with Communist enterprises, for a grand total of 2,200 affiliations of public record. Forty-six of these NAACP national officers have had one or two Communist affiliations; 99 have had 3 or more such affiliations; 52 have had 10 or more; and 46 have had 15 or more.

At this point, I present a tabulation of the names of the NAACP national officers whose Communist affiliations number 15 or more, together with the number of such affiliations for each individual.

Edward L. Parsons (Protestant Episcopal bishop)	108
Robert W. Kenny (California attorney)	101
Guy Emery Shipley (Protestant Episcopal clergyman)	76
Earl B. Dickerson (Chicago attorney)	65
Roger N. Baldwin (American Civil Liberties Union)	64
John Howland Lathrop (Unitarian clergyman)	62
Algernon D. Black (Society for Ethical Culture leader)	60
Van Wyck Brooks (author)	59
Freda Kirchwey (editor of <i>The Nation</i>)	59
Eleanor Roosevelt	56
Bartley Crum (San Francisco attorney)	56
George L. Paine (Protestant Episcopal clergyman)	50
Henry Hitt Crane (Methodist clergyman)	46
Max Lerner (newspaper columnist and professor)	43
Channing H. Tobias (Methodist clergyman)	43
James H. Wolfe (chief justice of Utah Supreme Court)	43
Osmond K. Fraenkel (New York attorney)	41
Archibald MacLeish (poet and university professor)	38
A. Philip Randolph (labor union president)	38
Frank P. Graham (university president, ex-U. S. senator)	37
G. Bromley Oxnam (Methodist bishop)	36
John Haynes Holmes (Unitarian clergyman)	35
W. J. Walls (Methodist bishop)	34

Reinhold Niebuhr (clergyman and theological professor)	34
Roscoe Dunjee (Oklahoma newspaper editor)	33
Benjamin E. Mays (college president and clergyman)	31
Edwin McNeill Poteat (Baptist clergyman)	30
George S. Counts (university professor)	29
William Lloyd Ives (Presbyterian clergyman)	29
Rufus E. Clement (university president and clergyman)	27
Lewis S. Gannett (newspaper columnist)	26
Oscar Hammerstein II (theatrical lyrics writer)	25
John Hammond (businessman)	23
S. Ralph Harlow (college professor and clergyman)	23
Henry W. Hobson (Protestant Episcopal bishop)	23
Albert Sprague Coolidge (university professor)	22
Edward L. Young (physician)	22
Hubert T. Delany (New York attorney)	20
Horace M. Kallen (educator)	20
Albert C. Dieffenbach (Unitarian clergyman)	19
Frank Kingdon (Methodist clergyman)	19
Loren Miller (Los Angeles attorney)	19
Norman Thomas (socialist leader)	19
Albert E. Barnett (theological professor, clergyman)	16
H. Claude Hudson (Los Angeles educator)	15
Henry Smith Leiper (Presbyterian clergyman)	15

Below are given the names of a number of Communist organizations (selected at random) and under each organization the names of the NAACP national officers who have been affiliated with it:

African Aid Committee

Earl B. Dickerson	Benjamin E. Mays
George L. Paine	Harry T. Penn
Stephen Gill Spottswood	W. J. Walls

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

Roger N. Baldwin	Viola W. Bernard
Algernon Black	Jane M. Bolin
Van Wyck Brooks	Rufus E. Clement
George S. Counts	Henry Hitt Crane
Earl B. Dickerson	Osmond K. Fraenkel
Frank P. Graham	S. Ralph Harlow
Henry W. Hobson	John Haynes Holmes
William Lloyd Ives	Robert W. Kenny
John Howland Lathrop	W. Appleton Lawrence
Max Lerner	Archibald MacLeish
Arthur J. Mandell	Benjamin E. Mays
Reinhold Niebuhr	George L. Paine
Edward L. Parsons	Eleanor Roosevelt
Guy Emery Shipley	Channing H. Tobias
W. J. Walls	James H. Wolfe

American Crusade to End Lynching

Bartley Crum	W. J. Walls
Oscar Hammerstein, II	Lloyd Garrison
Benjamin E. Mays	Robert W. Kenny
G. Bromley Oxnam	

American League for Peace and Democracy

Roger N. Baldwin
Morris L. Ernst
Lewis S. Gannett
William Lloyd Imes
Max Lerner
A. Philip Randolph
Guy Emery Shipley
Roy Wilkins
Van Wyck Brooks
Osmond K. Fraenkel
Frank P. Graham
Robert W. Kenny
Reinhold Niebuhr
Eleanor Roosevelt
Channing H. Tobias
L. Bradford Young

American Youth Congress

Roger N. Baldwin
Mrs. Samuel McCrae Cawelt
Earl B. Dickerson
Max Lerner
A. Philip Randolph
Guy Emery Shipley
George N. Shuster
Norman Thomas
Algernon D. Black
George S. Counts
John Howland Lathrop
Archibald MacLeish
Eleanor Roosevelt

Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity

Algernon D. Black
Harry Bragg
Hubert T. Delany
Osmond K. Fraenkel
John A. Morsell
C. B. Powell
Guy Emery Shipley
George N. Shuster
Channing H. Tobias
Jane M. Bolin
Maurice A. Dawkins
Harry Emerson Fosdick
Max Lerner
Myles A. Paige
Jawn Sandifer

Civil Rights Congress

Jane M. Bolin
Earl B. Dickerson
James Hinton
Robert W. Kenny
Benjamin E. Mays
Edwin McNeill Poteat
Rufus E. Clement
Roscoe Dunjee
H. Claude Hudson
Arthur J. Mandell
Edward L. Parsons
James H. Wolfe

Communist Party Schools

Bartley Crum
Earl B. Dickerson
Osmond K. Fraenkel
Loren Miller
Hubert T. Delany
Albert C. Dieffenbach
Robert W. Kenny
Edward L. Parsons

Council on African Affairs

Algernon D. Black
Hubert T. Delany
Roscoe Dunjee
William Lloyd Imes
Channing H. Tobias
Jane M. Bolin
Earl B. Dickerson
John Hammond
Arthur B. Spingarn
Robert C. Weaver

Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

Henry Hitt Crane
Earl B. Dickerson
Robert W. Kenny
Louis L. Redding
Guy Emery Shipley
Andrew D. Weinberger
Hubert T. Delany
John Wesley Dobbs
Edwin McNeill Poteat

End Jim Crow in Baseball Committee

Algernon D. Black
John Howland Lathrop
Eleanor Roosevelt

Oscar Hammerstein, II
C. B. Powell
Channing H. Tobias

International Labor Defense

Roger N. Baldwin
Roscoe Dunjee
Frank P. Graham
William Lloyd Imes
John Howland Lathrop
Arthur J. Mandell
George L. Paine
A. Philip Randolph
Channing H. Tobias

Earl B. Dickerson
Osmond K. Fraenkel
Oscar Hammerstein, II
Robert W. Kenny
Archibald MacLeish
Benjamin E. Mays
C. B. Powell
Lillian Smith
Ruth Weyand

National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax

Rufus E. Clement
Frank P. Graham
Mordecai W. Johnson
G. Bromley Oxnam
A. Philip Randolph

Channing H. Tobias
Harry Emerson Fosdick
Henry W. Hobson
Robert W. Kenny
Edward L. Parsons
Eleanor Roosevelt

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties

Algernon D. Black
Rufus E. Clement
Henry Hitt Crane
Osmond K. Fraenkel
Frank P. Graham
S. Ralph Harlow
Henry W. Hobson
Carl B. Johnson
Freda Kirchwey
Max Lerner
Arthur J. Mandell
James J. McClendon
G. Bromley Oxnam
Edward L. Parsons
Sidney R. Redmond
Arthur B. Spingarn
Willard S. Townsend

Van Wyck Brooks
Albert Sprague Coolidge
Bartley Crum
Lloyd Garrison
Harry J. Greene
Harrison Hires
William Lloyd Imes
Mordecai W. Johnson
John Howland Lathrop
Alfred Baker Lewis
Benjamin E. Mays
Karl A. Menninger
George L. Paine
Edwin McNeill Poteat
Guy Emery Shipley
Channing H. Tobias
James H. Wolfe

National Negro Congress

Mrs. Ernest Alexander
Ralph J. Bunche
H. Claude Hudson
Robert W. Kenny
Loren Miller
Henry Lee Moon
Tarea H. Pittman
Louis L. Redding
Norman Thomas
W. J. Walls

Jane M. Bolin
Earl B. Dickerson
Sidney A. Jones, Jr.
Alfred Baker Lewis
L. Pearl Mitchell
T. G. Nutter
A. Philip Randolph
Eleanor Roosevelt
J. M. Tinsley
Robert C. Weaver

Southern Conference Educational Fund

Albert E. Barnett
Rufus E. Clement
John Wesley Dobbs
Roland B. Gittelson
John Hammond
Westley W. Law
C. Herbert Marshall
James M. Nabrit, Jr.
T. G. Nutter
Louis L. Redding
Eleanor Roosevelt

C. Austin Whittier
Daisy Bates
Earl B. Dickerson
Roscoe Dunjee
Amos T. Hall
Mordecai W. Johnson
Arthur J. Mandell
Benjamin E. Mays
Reinhold Niebuhr
Harry T. Penn
Frederick E. Reissig

W. J. Walls

Southern Conference for Human Welfare

Rufus E. Clement
Roscoe Dunjee
James Hinton
Freda Kirchwey
A. Philip Randolph
Eleanor Roosevelt
Stephen Gill Spottswood

John Wesley Dobbs
Frank P. Graham
Mordecai W. Johnson
Benjamin E. Mays
Frederick E. Reissig
Lillian Smith
Channing H. Tobias

Southern Negro Youth Congress

Rufus E. Clement
Oscar Hammerstein, II
A. Philip Randolph
Arthur D. Shores

Roscoe Dunjee
Mordecai W. Johnson
Eleanor Roosevelt
J. M. Tinsley

Testimonial Dinner in Honor of Ferdinand C. Smith

Hubert T. Delany
Freda Kirchwey
Channing H. Tobias

Robert C. Weaver
Roscoe Dunjee
Myles A. Paige

Willard S. Townsend

United Negro and Allied Veterans of America

Roscoe Dunjee
Robert W. Kenny

Benjamin E. Mays

W. E. B. DuBois Testimonial Sponsoring Committee

Van Wyck Brooks
Henry Hitt Crane
Roscoe Dunjee
Benjamin E. Mays
Frederick E. Reissig

James H. Wolfe
W. Montague Cobb
Earl B. Dickerson
Mordecai W. Johnson
George L. Paine

W. J. Walls